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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 222



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ARTICLE HAILS SIGNIFICANCE OF POLISH PARTY CONGRESS

Beijing BANYUE TAN [SEMI-MONTELY TALKS] in Chinese No 15, 10 Aug 81 pp 52-53

[Article by Chen Xi [2525 2569]: "Briefly on the Polish Party's Ninth Extraordinary Congress"]

[Text] The Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, which convened on 14 July, concluded on 20 July, after 7 days of tense and heated work. The overall historical significance of this congress is of course a matter for the Polish people themselves to assess. It may seem too early for an assessment, but this does not lessen in the least the strong impression that this congress left behind.

Precisely as the "Appeal to the Polish People," passed at the end of the congress, expressed it: "The deep economic, social and political crisis that is now tormenting our country imperils the secure existence of our people and the future of our fatherland." The Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the Polish party "must extricate the country from its crisis and become the turning point in its struggle." Owing to the complex and delicate position that Poland finds itself in, owing to Poland's role in the overall East-West relationship where one light move may easily affect the entire situation, and owing to the nonstop political, military and economic pressure from the Soviet Union, the international community pays extraordinarily close attention to the Polish party's Ninth Extraordinary Congress. This is completely understandable.

The present congress summed up the events in Poland since the Eighth National Congress in February of last year. The congress debated most conscientiously the role and task of the Polish party in the present situation, selected in a uniquely new system a new central leadership structure, affirmed the line of having social reforms and political discussions solve conflicts, determined economic reforms, especially the strengthening of the policy of agricultural development, investigated the responsibility of former leadership personnel for the serious mistakes that have been committed and formulated new party statutes incorporating a new revolutionary spirit. One may take it that the special features of the present congress were promotion of democracy, determination to carry out reforms and a joint effort to avoid a national calamity. The overall atmosphere at the congress indicated that Poland is seeking a road of development that will conform with its national history and national peculiarities.

The courageous and successful experiment that the present congress carried out in democratizing innerparty political life left an extremely deep impression on everyone. It was most intensively reflected in the elections. All the elections, from Central Committee members to first secretaries, departed from the usual and traditional practice of the past, when candidates were nominated by the higher authorities and voted on by the lower levels. This time the candidates were nominated directly by the delegates and, after inquiries, voted upon by secret ballot and elected by majority vote. The result of the election was that 89 percent of the full and alternate members of the Politburo were eliminated and a large number of workers, peasants and rank and file cadres were elected into the highest leadership structure. Among the 200 members of the Central Committee, workers and peasants account for over 50 percent, and provincial party committee members and secretaries from factory and mine party committees account for less than 10 percent. Only four members of the former Politburo were reelected. This great "changing of the guard" undoubtedly expresses the determination of the delegates to "vote into the central leadership structure men who will resolutely carry out and support socialist innovations." However, since most of the new men lack experience in leadership work, this might entail a number of new problems.

The spirit of political reform of the present congress is full expressed in the new party statutes passed by the congress. The new statutes stipulate: First secretaries in the central party organizations and party organizations of all levels may not hold office in excess of two terms (10 years). The separation of party and government, and the principle of no one holding concurrent offices in both is strictly emphasized. The statutes determine the supervisory role of the party's electoral organization over the executive organization and strengthen the functions of the grassroots party organizations. The party statutes also clearly stipulate the responsibilities and limits of powers of the cadres at different levels. These reform measures are undoubtedly very positive.

The renewed confirmation of First Secretary Kania's leadership position and the elimination of the "extremists" in the leadership by the present congress is of great significance for the maintenance of party unity and prevention of its splitting apart. This also created the necessary conditions for the realization of reforms and for the process of democratization. However, the present congress has obviously not yet set forth a "well-considered program of action" to overcome the present crisis and concrete plans to carry out such a program effectively. The new leadership will have many things to attend to.

Essentially, the key problem which the party's Ninth Extraordinary Congress solved was the problem of the leadership team, that is, the problem of personnel. This was precisely the crucial point in Moscow's concerns all along. Ever since Kania and Premier Jaruzelski took charge of the party and the government, Moscow has incessantly attacked the Polish party as "revisionist" and "opportunist" and in letters, naming names, expressed its dissatisfaction, stirring up quite some action in the internal division of the party. Up to the present congress, there has been not the slightest letup in the Soviet military, economic and political pressure. The low-key reaction, limited quantity and dark-tinged criticism of the Soviet propaganda machine toward the Polish party's Ninth Congress has been noteworthy. International observers even noticed the subtle difference in Brezhnev's congratulatory telegram to Kania, calling

him "Respected Comrade" and not "Dear Comrade." Even though Kania has repeatedly reaffirmed his loyalty to the Polish-Soviet alliance and the "one big family," Moscow has not changed its attitude of distrust of him and reservations toward him. This means that the dark cloud of Soviet intervention will continue to hang over Poland and that Poland's road out of its crisis and toward reforms is still beset with many difficulties.

However, the significance of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the Polish party is perhaps just that it wants to be, on the one hand, "the loyal ally," "one of the big family," and "a firm link in the chain," but on the other hand courageously break out from the "Soviet-style" cage and seek its own road.

8453

CSO: 4005/886

PARTY AND STATE

HISTORICAL STUDY, CORRECT CONCEPT OF PARTY URGED

Beijing XIN SHIQI [NEW ERA] in Chinese No 5, May 81 pp 2-4

[Article by Wang Furu [3769 4395 1172]: "To Know the Party as It Is"]

[Text] Lately, some people, especially young people, have formed some questionable concepts about our party. Some say that our party is a party of small producers. Others say that our party has never been a party of the proletariat, but rather "a paradise for a few career revolutionists," or words to that effect. Are they correct or not? They are of course wrong.

Our party has grown up in rural environments. Many of our party members have a peasant background. Thus the mentality of small producers has held considerable sway within our party. But can we then conclude that our party is a party of small agricultural producers?

We must realize that the social background of our party members does not make our party what it is. The determining factors are its guiding ideology, its political platform, its political line, and the principles of its organization. For example, the Labor Party in England is made up mostly of workers as far as its membership goes, but it has long been a capitalist political party. While our party has a predominantly peasant membership, it is just the same a proletarian party. It is because our party is armed with Marxist scientific theory and is a product of the marriage between Marxism and the Chinese worker movement. Our party built its foundation on the working class, not the small agricultural producers. Peasants and people of other social classes and all social strata may join our party, but they must accept the proletarian world outlook, embrace our party platform, and prove themselves in the course of real-life struggles as the cream of the proletariat before they are admitted into the party as members. This is not a new issue. Comrade Liu Shaoqi touched on this point when he was addressing the Seventh Party Congress on revisions to the party charter. He said: "The social background of our party members in itself is not a determining factor. The determining factors are our party's political struggles and political conduct, its ideological education programs, and the ideological and political leadership it provides. Our party's general and organizational principles put the proletarian thought and line in an authoritative position in our party's conduct."

It is undeniable that the old China was a nation made up mostly of small agricultural producers. The petite bourgeoisie was a formidable national force. Therefore, the party leadership could not help being affected by the mentality of small producers.

During the period of democratic revolution, our party swerved several times to the far "left" and to the far right because of the influence of such a mentality. Even during the period of socialism beginning in the late 1950's, we still did not shake off this mentality entirely as we led our socialist construction. We suffered, to varying degrees, from left leaning utopianism. This notwithstanding, we need to point out without reservation, that in general and fundamental terms it was the proletarian scientific theory of Marx and Lenin, not the mentality of the small producers, that has guided our party all along. Some people are suggesting these days that it was a brand of rural socialism, not scientific socialism, that guided our party's conduct, during the period of socialism. They say that such rural socialism was "coated with Marxism, steeped in agrarian socialism, and rooted in feudal socialism." They are entirely off the mark. They are talking nonsense. It is true that our party did come under the influence of the mentality of the small producers when we worked on the problem of how to build socialism. It does not mean that such a mentality guided us through the period of socialism. No matter what guise it assumed and what influence it exerted on our party during both the period of democratic revolution and the period of socialism, the mentality of the small producers was illegal and it ran counter to the guiding ideology of our party. The very fact that our party is always guided by the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is our guarantee that we shall triumph over the mentality of the small producers and all other social classes, that we shall elevate our theory, our basic concepts, our political line and our policies to a level in keeping with the scientific theory of the proletariat, and that we shall lead our revolution onto the path of one victory after another. Let us go back to the concepts and policies which our party pursued for the period of the new democratic revolution. We insisted at the time that such a revolution should be accomplished in two stages, that the proletariat should be the leading class, and that the democratic revolution was to pave the way for the socialist revolution. Small producers could not have envisioned that. By the same token, the concept and strategy that our party devised for our revolutionary war, including our extremely sophisticated military dialectics, could not have been devised by small producers. Similarly, the lofty program designed by our party to realize socialist modernization and the political and economic reforms planned by our party would again be beyond the intellectual reach of the small producers. The fact that we could build such a great party as ours, win such a remarkable victory for our revolution, and move on to the socialist path was a testimonial to the triumph of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the triumph of scientific socialism. This achievement can never be justified on the strength of the mentality of small producers by itself.

It is clear then that to negate our party's leading ideology and to doubt the proletarian character of the party just because our party once came under the influence, even strong influence, of the mentality of small producers is an unscientific attitude. Anyone who holds such an attitude sees only what is on the surface, not what is on the inside. He will never correctly understand the true nature of our party.

Anyone who contends that our party is "a paradise for a few career revolutionists" is again making an error of judgement in failing to see what is truly at issue.

It is true that a number of career revolutionists filled our party ranks at its very inception. As our revolution developed apace, their ranks grew in number.

Even for a proletarian party like ours, these career revolutionists played a very important role. In his book "What Is To Be Done," Lenin also dwelt upon this important issue. He argued that scientific communism did not rise out of the workers movement. It was "injected" into it. The career revolutionists acted as the inspirers and organizers of the proletarian struggle and their role was indispensable. Lenin said: "Without the strong and organized leadership provided by career revolutionists, the spontaneous proletarian struggle could not have grown into a class struggle in its true sense." ["Complete Collection of Lenin's Works" Vol 5, p 445] Since its founding, our party has led a protracted and arduous armed struggle and underground struggle. The career revolutionists in our ranks have grown in number and have played more and more important roles. Li Daozhao, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De and Dong Biwu were the most outstanding of them. This is not to say that our party is nothing more than a tight group of career revolutionists. The fact remains that our party is a proletarian party composed of the broadest possible cross section of the people. It is because our party is not working in the interest of the proletariat and the working people as a whole. Our party is not a paradise for career revolutionists. It is a melting pot of all revolutionary people. Everyone who joins our party must be prepared to accept all sorts of challenges. Our party once worked under extremely vicious white terror. The great majority of the career revolutionists joined our party ranks not to work for their own personal gains but to work for class and national liberation. Many of them gave their precious lives for this cause. "They were concerned about what was good for the world, not what was good for themselves or their families." Anyone who knows a little bit about the Chinese revolution will accept this fact.

Perhaps some of the people who will not accept this fact are not thinking about the past, but the present. Perhaps what they mean is that all the career revolutionists are enjoying special privileges now, so that our party is no longer what it was and has turned into a "paradise" for the career revolutionists. Such a conclusion has no basis in fact and is dangerous.

We have to admit that with the victory in our revolution, our party has assumed a different status and a large number of career revolutionists have moved into leadership positions at all levels of the government and are holding considerable power. As a result, their relationship with the people may be changing. In the past, they shared weal and woe with the people and maintained close ties with them. They led the people in their struggle against the reactionary rulers. Now they are leaders of the people's government. While they still share the basic common interests with the people, they may, if they do not do their jobs properly or conduct themselves properly, come into conflict with the people, or they may even place themselves in a position opposite the people. Comrade Chen Yun once pointed out: "How a ruling party conducts itself is a matter of life or death for that party." It is wrong to ignore this serious problem or fail to recognize the danger in the degeneration of a ruling party.

We must also admit that some leading cadres have committed improprieties. The decade of chaos fueled the fire of bureaucratism and the pursuit of privileges. Some party leaders were affected by Lin Biao's philosophy that "when you have power, you have everything." They took to heart life's philosophy summarized in this maxim: "Power and money, power and money, power generates money." They put their personal

gains above everything else. They do not care what is good for our party or what is good for our people. Perhaps they cared before, but not any more. This situation calls for a careful analysis as follows:

1. We must make a quantitative analysis. Within our party, those who have flagrantly disobeyed the law and the party's code of conduct, who have embezzled the fruits of labor of the people, and who have squandered and wasted public money form an extreme minority. What they did or are doing does not meet our party's code of conduct and tarnishes the good reputation of all other party members. Nevertheless, we cannot generalize or blame the misconduct of a few on the entire party. If we draw the conclusion that the majority of our party leaders are already corrupted, we are not stating the true facts.

2. The problem of our party leadership is basically a problem of misdirection. The desire to achieve quick results, the failure to strike a proper balance between reserves and spending, poor planning and mismanagement have resulted in tremendous waste. This has created obstacles for the development of production and the improvement of the living standard of the people. However, this is not the same as pocketing the entire proceeds from the surplus production of the working people, like the capitalists used to do. We must separate honest mistakes of individuals from the normal conduct of our party. We must also separate the mistakes of our party from the attempt at sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." We cannot blame all the social consequences of the decade of chaos and all the hardship we have suffered because of it on our party. If we do, we will not form the right opinion about our party, we will not see it for what it truly is.

3. More importantly, we must ask ourselves this question: Are the policies of our party designed to serve the interest of the people and to benefit the people? Or are they designed to protect and perpetuate the privileges of a few? This is a basic criterion by which to judge our party. We must admit that except the time when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were pursuing their perverse policies, our party has spent most of its time trying to curb and criticize special privileges. Special privileges have always been illegal within our party.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party has passed a number of bills regulating the political conduct of our party. It has set a code of ethics for high-ranking cadres. It has made an exhaustive effort to criticize and stamp out misconduct. It is also determined to carry its corrective effort a step further if necessary. This is a direct refutation of the thoughtless claim that all leading cadres of our party are privileged people and that our party has turned into a party of the privileged class.

It is not surprising that some people, especially some young people, should raise questions about what our party is. All our young people under age 30 stepped out into the world at a time when the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" had just gotten underway. They faced a confusing situation when everyone was demanding: "Let's kick the party committees out of the way and get down to making revolution!"

What they heard and saw was the distorted and disfigured image of our party and our veteran cadres, an image created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Many of them

have only a fragmentary knowledge of what our party stands for and what our party has gone through. They are too young to have taken part in the revolutionary war led by our party. They are too young to have experienced the correct leadership provided by our party during the first 17 years of China's liberation. There is no wonder that they are likely to form some objective, one-sided, and superficial opinions about our party. They have no appreciation for the fact that a large party like ours which has to lead a nation of 1 billion people and which has to take on an innovative and arduous task in a situation full of complex contradictions and conflicts is likely to make its share of mistakes. Once they realize that our party has made some mistakes, they refuse to examine those mistakes from a dialectical and historical perspective. They simply say that nothing is right. They refuse to accept the party for what it is. They close their eyes to the fact that our party is a superior party, that it has a glorious, revolutionary tradition, and that it has a vibrant vitality. It is capable of overcoming its own mistakes on its own strength and in the process grows stronger and better able to lead the nation toward the socialist goal. If we do not understand this issue properly, we are likely to give in to complaints and accusations, to develop skepticism and pessimism, and to lose faith in our party and in its ability to carry out the four modernizations. If we are to understand correctly the true nature of our party, we must review the history of our party's struggles in the past 60 years in the right perspective and conscientiously study the works of Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong. We must realize that by adopting dialectical materialism and historical materialism to suit the conditions of China's revolutionary struggle, Comrade Mao Zedong came up with many creative ideas that filled the pages of all his brilliant works. If we study the history of our party and the philosophical treatises by Comrade Mao Zedong side by side, we will develop the correct approach, perspective and method to reach the right conclusion about what our party has gone through and about what our party really is. We will also develop a stronger faith in our party's leadership style and its ability to carry out the four modernizations.

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PARTY AND STATE

NEED FOR CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM STRESSED

Chengdu SICHUAN RYBAO in Chinese 6 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Hong Yunshan [3163 7301 3790]: "Daring To Make Self-criticism Is an Important Profile of Our Party"]

[Text The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," adopted by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, is a realistic endorsement of the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought as a guide, and is a reaffirmation of our party's tremendous achievements in leading the people throughout the country to embark on socialist revolution and construction. At the same time, this document contains open confessions of mistakes committed by our party's leadership since the founding of the PRC and mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years, as well as serious, conscientious, and nonperfunctory self-criticisms and a review of experiences and lessons it has drawn during the past 32 years. This reflects the quality of a proletarian political party characterized by honesty, openmindedness, selfless devotion and courage, as well as a high sense of its responsibility to the party and the people, or what Lenin called "the hallmark of a serious-minded party." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 213)

In 1891, when Engels decided to publish "Criticism of the Gotha Program," a document written by Marx 15 years earlier to seriously criticize the party's erroneous tendencies, he wrote a letter to Kautskiy saying: "The worry that this letter (reference to 'Criticism of the Gotha Program'--editor) will provide the enemy with a weapon will prove unfounded. Of course, anyone can spread malicious slander for any reason. Generally speaking, however, this form of dispassionate self-criticism may catch the enemy by surprise and may give him this feeling: What gives this party such enormous potential strength to offer itself such things!" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 487) This resolution that has been adopted by our party was published some 32 years after it came to power, and it is expected to carry greater weight and influence than the principled criticism of that Gotha program exercised by a party not yet in power. The fact that we dare openly to examine and criticize ourselves also proves that the "potential strength of our party is very great!"

Whether a political party can lead a revolution is a point that has nothing to do with whether it will make mistakes or not. The most important point is that we must watch whether it can represent the progressive social tendencies and the interests

of the overwhelming majority of the people, and whether it can push the wheel of society forward. In our era, only socialism can save China, and only the Communist Party can assume the difficult historical role of leading the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction. No political party or individual can avoid making mistakes. A case in point is that correcting mistakes calls for a correct attitude and strength. Our party has taken a serious and conscientious attitude toward its mistakes and has relied on its own strength to consciously correct them. In the process, it has also summed up experiences and lessons so that it can push the revolutionary cause forward and grow more mature than ever.

During the new democratic revolution, our party committed two serious mistakes—one in 1927 and the other in 1934—as a result of the implementation of an erroneous guiding ideology. Because our party took a serious and conscientious attitude toward these mistakes and could rely on its own strength to correct them, it eventually succeeded in overcoming difficulties, triumphed over the enemy, and captured the nation's political power. After the founding of the PRC, our party led the people throughout the country to take swift action to revive the seriously damaged national economy through the proclamation of a general line for the transition period, the formulation and successful implementation of the First Five-Year Plan, and the socialist transformation of the means of production of private ownership. When the socialist transformation was basically completed in 1956, our country began to shift the emphasis of its work to large-scale socialist construction. Socialism is a brand new undertaking—especially new to a poor and backward big nation like ours. Under such circumstances, we cannot consult the books by our revolutionary teachers on ways to practice socialism, its special characteristics, and the laws governing its development. We have had no alternative but to find answers to these matters of interest through exploration. For example, the tempo and scale of development that would suit our nation, the specific forms of public ownership that should be adopted in order to meet the level of the productive forces in our country, and how to establish an economic management system and certain leadership systems for our party and state—all these needed to be explored through practice. Only thus could we obtain correct knowledge and acquire successful experiences. Because any correct knowledge can be obtained only through the repeated process of practice, knowledge, and again practice, and because almost all successful experiences can be made available only through the process of summing up lessons in success and failure, it seemed unavoidable that we would make mistakes of one kind or another in our work. A review of our historical experiences since the founding of the PRC shows that some mistakes could not be avoided, while some could have been avoided. Since these mistakes have been made, we must try our best to draw useful lessons and experiences from them and convert them into the invaluable assets of the party and the people throughout the country. Since the smashing of the "gang of four", and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party has taken careful measures to lead the comrades of the entire party to conscientiously sum up its experiences since the founding of the PRC, and especially the experiences and lessons drawn from the "Great Cultural Revolution"; to resolutely rectify mistakes and wholly revive and reaffirm the correct Marxist line on the political, ideological, and organizational fronts; and to effect a great transition of far-reaching significance in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" is a document aimed at summing up all such experiences. It reflects not only the fact that our party is a serious-minded organization capable of relying

on its own strength to correct its mistakes, but also the fact that it has become more politically mature than at any time since the founding of the PRC. It convinces us that the great objective of our socialist modernization program can be victoriously realized. In the face of mistakes and frustrations, no one should lose confidence, nor should anyone become pessimistic, disappointed, or demoralized. It is entirely wrong to adopt such attitudes.

In the 60 years of its struggle, our party has committed many mistakes. No matter how many mistakes it has committed and how serious their nature and consequences, it has counted on nothing but its own strength to correct them. In the course of correcting its mistakes, it has summed up its experiences so that it can continue its march forward again. This fact proves that our party is a proletarian vanguard armed with Marxism-Leninism and Lao Zedong Thought, that it is dedicated to serving the people wholeheartedly, and that it is willing to do everything for the masses or in their interests. This is why we are not afraid to tell the people and the whole world openly of its shortcomings. The demonstration of this daring spirit to make criticism and self-criticism is proof that our party is always serious-minded and is very powerful, and a hallmark that distinguishes our party from any other political party. It tells us that our party can overcome any difficulties in leading the Chinese people on the march from one victory to another. Through the study of the "Resolution," we must exhibit greater confidence in this point, rally more closely around the Party Central Committee, work with one mind and one heart, display an indomitable spirit, and make vigorous efforts to develop the socialist modernization program.

9574

CSO: 4005/875

PARTY AND STATE

THIRD PLENUM DEFENDED AS GREAT TURNING POINT

Guangzhou NANFAN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Aug 81 p 4

[Article by Li Changtai [2621 7022 1132]: "Why the Third Plenum Was the Great Turning Point in Our Party's History Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China"]

[Text] Comrade Ho Yao Xin:

You wrote and asked why the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" evaluated the 3D Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee by saying the "the 3D Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee was the great turning point with far-reaching significance in the history of our party since the founding of the nation"? Why doesn't the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique qualify as the great turning point? I feel that what was written in the "Resolution" was reasonable and correct.

Generally speaking, in order to be called a great turning point, something must have created an entirely new situation for the revolution and construction. We call the Cunyi Conference the first great turning point in our party's history because it opened a new page in our country's new democratic revolution and laid the foundation for its victory. Similarly, we call the Third Plenum another great turning point because it created a new situation for our nation's socialist revolution and construction and is leading us to a great new victory in socialist modernization construction.

The victory achieved in smashing the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique had tremendous significance in our party's history. It saved the party and the revolution from great peril and led our country into a new period of historical development. In the 2 years from that time until the eve of the Third Plenum the party and the people did a vast amount of work, such as unmasking and denouncing the crimes of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, beginning in part to redress the injustices done, bringing about a fairly quick restoration of production, etc. In short, during these 2 years the work of the party proceeded. But the progress achieved met with severe obstruction. Suddenly there appeared mistaken theories, policies and slogans of the "Great Cultural Revolution," including the theory of "Continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," the slogan "Take class struggle as the key," etc. And these not only went uncorrected, but to varying degrees were confirmed as correct. There are reasons for the appearance

of these improper phenomena. One is that the political and ideological confusion created by the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution" cannot be easily cleared up in a short period. A second is that Comrade Hua Guofeng who was party chairman during that time continued to make leftist errors in guiding ideology. The Party Central Committee convened the 3D Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee in order to change the situation of party work proceeding in an atmosphere of indecision.

The great significance of the 3D Plenum lies in its full scale, resolute restoration of order which relied on the masses and was well thought out. The 3D Plenum ended the situation of party work proceeding in an atmosphere of indecision, and began the complete and serious correction of the leftist mistakes committed during the "Great Cultural Revolution: and before. The 3D Plenum established the correct ideological, political and organizational lines. The guiding ideology of the party returned to the correct path of Mao Zedong Thought. The 3D Plenum began the search for a path to Chinese style modernization. After the 3D Plenum, we began the step by step establishment of a correct path to socialist modernization construction which suits China's situation.

The 3D Plenum firmly criticized the mistaken principle of the "two whatevers," fully confirmed the need to grasp completely and accurately the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought, evaluated in depth the discussion of the question of standards of truth, and established the leading principles of emancipation of our minds, using our heads, seeking the truth from facts, and looking forward in unity. This demonstration that our party has already established the correct ideological line of "seek the truth from facts, everything proceeds from reality, and theory and practice unite." The 3D Plenum decisively put a stop to the use of the slogan "Take class struggle as the key" which is ill-suited to a socialist society and formulated the strategy which made socialist modernization construction the focal point of our work. It also demanded that we make an effort to solve the serious imbalances in our national economy and it made the decision to speed up agricultural development. This makes it clear that our party has already established the correct political line of "Carry out the four modernizations in a Chinese way." The 3D Plenum emphasized the tasks of perfecting socialist democracy and strengthening the socialist legal system, and of investigating and solving the large number of grievous mistakes made in the history of the party and the question of the merits and demerits of certain important leaders. The entire plenum also selected the members of the organ of central leadership. This makes it clear that our party has already established the correct organizational line which, along with the ideological and political lines, appropriately upholds democratic centralism. All of this demonstrates that in guiding ideology our party has already departed from the leftist mistakes of so many past years and has returned to the correct path of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. After this the party grasped the initiative in restoring order. It proceeded step by step to solve the numerous historical problems passed on since the founding of the nation and new problems which have appeared in actual life, and has done tireless work in construction and revolution, creating for our nation an excellent situation. Under the leadership of the 3D Plenum thinking inside and outside of the party has been vigorous and a lively situation of working hard at researching new conditions and solving new problems has developed. Economic construction has begun to free itself from the long period of leftist guiding ideology and has been set upon a path of measured advancement and stable development which is suited to our national situation and which is

concerned with effectiveness. In the area of relations between society and government we have made progress in resolutely solving a large number of grave problems which were mishandled for a long period and we have promoted both stability and unity and the consolidation and development of a lively political situation. There have been great accomplishments in other areas as well. It is just as the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" indicated: "In short, since the 3D Plenum the scientific principles of Mao Zedong Thought and the correct policies of the party have been restored and developed under new conditions. Every item of the party and nation's work has daily improved. There are still errors and shortcomings in our work. There are still numerous difficulties before us. But, the road to victory and progress has already been cleared." Practice has proven that the 3D Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee was another great turning point. It will inevitably lead us to a great victory in socialist modernization construction.

9705

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PARTY AND STATE

MODERN CHINESE INTELLECTUAL HISTORY REVIEWED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 17 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Li Huaxing [2621 5478 5281]: "A Historical Choice: Marxism--A Review of Modern Chinese Intellectual History"]

[Text] Note on the topic of this article: In the 80 years since the Opium War and prior to the establishment of the Chinese Communist Party the people wished to avert disaster and preserve the nation and so they investigated and followed a number of doctrines and methods, but were doomed to repeated failure. It was only after they found Marxism that the real way to save China became clear.

1

A historical choice is one that the people make under the restrictions of social limitations. "The degree to which a theory is realized in a nation is determined by the degree to which this theory satisfies national needs." (MAKESI-ENGESI XUANJI--THE COMPLETE WORKS OF MARX AND ENGELS, Vol. 1, p 462) Each and every theory, no matter what sort of theory, must stand before the criterion of national needs and either defend or relinquish its right to exist; each and every intellectual, no matter of what school, must stand before the fixed social conditions and either accept or reject the historical choice, and moreover must use these conditions to determine his right and wrong deeds.

Beginning with the Opium War in 1840 the ancient Chinese nation was subjected to imperialistic barbaric invasions. From this time on, averting disaster and saving the nation became the most urgent and sacred problem facing all the people. In attempting to answer the questions of how to analyze national conditions, how to save the nation, save the people and how to plan for the future, superior men in all social classes, levels, factions and groups engaged all their mental and emotional abilities to apply their understanding and experience to produce solution upon solution. All the methods they suggested and all the avenues they chose without exception were subjected to severe social observation on the central point of saving the nation.

A series of events including the cannon shots of the Opium War, the loss of authority in the Treaty of Nanjing and the collapse of the imperial court awoke some members of the feudal gentry out of their apathetic slumbers, reality revealed the lies and forced those members of the landlord reform faction who were concerned about the fate of the nation and the "plight of the people" to open their eyes in order to see the world, see reality, discuss national affairs and ridicule the current government.

Gong Zizhen smashed the mute, unresponsive attitude, revealed the corrupt feudal "world-sorrow," loudly demanded reform and attacked the imperial system asking "why is it unthinkable to change the system of government?" When Lin Zexu was resisting the British naval invasion he suggested the correct policy of "learning the enemy's strong points in order to defeat them and concentrating the people's financial resources to open mines and factories." He bitterly attacked the nobility as "benighted and ignorant." The person who developed this correct view of Lin Zexu and systematically learned great lessons from western nations was Wei Yuan, the author of HAIGUO TUZHI--A RECORD OF MARITIME NATIONS. "In order to control the barbarians we must systematically understand them," and only by understanding the enemy will we overcome them. Wei Yuan advocated learning the enemy's superior military technology and make up national shortcomings to use the technique of learning from the barbarians with the "goal of controlling the barbarians." The ideology of "learning from barbarian strengths in order to overcome the barbarians" both prompted the study of western firepower and lit the fires of patriotism.

Nonetheless, it was impossible to avoid the limitations of the times and of class so that they were unable to escape the confines of the feudal, ancestral halls and could not escape the trap of "loyalty to one's sovereign." Gong Zizhen, Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan revealed social corruption but also protected the feudal system, called for progressive reforms but were afraid of basic reforms, and called for a "great storm" but looked with emnity on peasant uprisings. These attitudes kept them in the first stage of modern history and placed them in a secondary role.

During the 1850s, peasant revolution ideology as represented by Hong Xiuquan, appeared on the political stage and was subjected to the test of history.

In the struggle against feudal oppression and feudal exploitation the demand for an ideology of equality and egalitarianism was the simple expression of the revolutionary instincts and livelihood aspirations of the broad peasants. In the increasingly fierce practice of this struggle Hong Xiuquan focused the peasant demands for equality and used some features of western Christian doctrine and Confucian ideology to provide the peasant revolution with an ideological weapon to oppose feudal oppression.

The Taiping peasant uprising wore an outer robe of religious mysticism, they worshipped an all-powerful "heavenly emperor," and sought the wisdom and protection of the gods in creating an earthly paradise and in fighting to the death against "satan" and his minions. In the TIANCHAO TIANMU ZHIDU--THE HEAVENLY SYSTEM OF LAND DISTRIBUTION, Hong Xiuquan brought about the peasants' lifelong dream of a future society with "land for all to till, food for all to eat, clothes for all to wear, money for all to use, equality in all matters and satisfaction for all people." However, this ideal castle was built on the sandy foundation of small-scale peasant production and absolute egalitarianism. Hong Xiuquan strongly advocated that all nations of the world ought to "concern themselves with their own production efforts and avoid interfering with other people's property rights." Consequently, the naive peasants were unable to discern the character of the aggressors who were wolves in sheeps clothing and who were mistaken as foreign brothers who believed in the same gods.

The combination of an insubstantial structure and Chinese and foreign reactionary forces brought about the defeat of the Taiping peasant revolution. The tragic lesson of history is that a small peasant economy cannot oppose a feudal economy and to base absolute egalitarianism on small-scale production can only restore the path of feudal production methods. A peasant government cannot oppose a feudal government, it will either be repressed by the feudal court or become transformed into a new feudal court. The end result will be the same. A peasant ideology cannot defeat the system of feudal ideology--after the victory of the revolution the ideology of equality will be denied by social practice and by the peasants themselves. Autocracy and class views will come to replace it. Religion is only mysticism and idealism deifies the individual. The deification of the individual will then bring about the demise of the revolution.

The greatest revolutionary democratic faction is the hundreds of millions of peasants. Nonetheless, the old style peasant revolution cannot overthrow feudal nations, it cannot fulfill its anti-imperialist duties and a spontaneous peasant ideology cannot revitalize China.

4

During the bloody repression of the peasant revolution there appeared in history the fantasy of the "Tongzhi Restoration." Prior to the Sino-Japanese War, this westernization ideology under the banner of "new government" seemed to some people to be an excellent method for "seeking power and wealth."

The starting point and resting point of the westernization faction was loyalty to the feudal system. The Manchu and landlord class became involved in a contradictory struggle over the allocation of authority so that even Li Hongzhang lamented that "In the capital everyone is unable to make longrange plans. They worry at the internal weakness and foreign strength and the timorousness at accepting military commands

or border area governships." (YU GUO SONGTAO SHU--A LETTER TO GUO SONGTAO) Nonetheless, he was willing to "bear insults and carry heavy burdens" in exercising his loyalty to the court.

With regard to the Taiping peasant revolution westernization was a step backward, but with regard to the reactionary faction westernization was a step forward. Although the westernization faction and the reactionary faction agreed on the preservation of the feudal system, they nonetheless differed on the methods and technique of achieving this reactionary goal. The westernization faction advocated learning "barbarian knowledge to build cannon and ships and then using these foreign ships and cannon to protect the feudal structures." The reactionary faction advocated a return to the period of exclusion, "with loyalty as armor and ritual as shields" and applying the ways of the sages to preserve the Qing court.

The keystone of the westernization faction ideology was to "use Chinese learning as the spirit and western learning as technique." However, the entire history of the westernization movement clearly shows that the structure of the feudal system could not withstand the results of the production technology of capitalism. It was like fitting a horse's legs on a cow's body, by no means a valiant steed. All plans to import the materials and techniques of modernized western production and force these into the unyielding mold of the feudal ownership system were but a fleeting dream.

5

The process of the downfall of the westernization movement corresponds with the progress of the development of the bourgeoisie reform movement. How was western knowledge acquired? According to the understanding of modern Chinese scholars, but underwent a progression from appearances to essentials, from form to content, gradually progressing from a shallow to a more profound understanding, making progress in very small increments. Prior to the Sino-Japanese War, the vision of the early bourgeois reform faction had already progressed beyond the simple model of western "boats and cannon" and production technology and had advanced to a demand for the development of capitalist industry and commerce. The feudal shackles of "inspection at every port and taxation at every level" could not but make them issue a call for the establishment of capitalist production relationships. Taking things a step further, they were even more aware that if they did not transform the feudal political system they could not enter the path of developing capitalism. The suggestion of "joint rule by the nobility and the people," that is to say the change to a bourgeois constitutional monarchy, came about in just this fashion. The reform movement ideology as represented by Kang Youwei was a direct reflection of the desire to avert disaster and preserve the nation. The sad part is that the reformers wished to resist the external enemy and had an unrealistic view of imperialism, even to the point of thinking that England, Japan and the United States would assist China in its reform into a "friendly nation." The reformers wished to transform current conditions but also held on to the two major symbols of feudal

authority (the political authority of the emperor Guangxu and the theoretical authority of Confucian and Daoist thought). The reformers wished to save the nation and save the people but they also were afraid of awareness among the people and were more afraid of mass movements than of reactionary forces.

The conclusion was of course tragic and the Hundred Day Reform vanished like a puff of smoke. "I lay my sword aside and laugh at the skies," Tan Sitong welcomed his death and won a place in the annals of history! Before taking action he lamented that he "had the desire to kill the landlords but lacked the strength to ascend to heaven." "Desire" in the end is but "strength" and the phrase "those with the strongest mind can accomplish anything" (Tan Sitong in RENXUE--ON LEARNING) was but an empty boast. "True strength" belongs to the people and without the people the Reform Movement of 1898 was without any strength.

6

After entering the 20th century the most obvious point in the historical development was the spread of the bourgeois democratic revolution throughout the whole nation.

The bourgeois revolutionary faction led by Sun Zhongshan praised revolution as the "universally acknowledged truth" of being "obedient to heaven and pleasing to men" and also praised it as a "heavenly principle" of "eliminating barbarism and advancing civilization." They saw Rousseaus's theory of innate rights of man, Montesquieu's theory of the tri-part separation of powers as ideological weapons and firmly believed that they were "precious formulas for restoring life and revitalizing the soul." They called upon the people to "rush into a hail of bullets" to overthrow the barbarian Manchu government and sweep out all foreign devils" in order to take the United States as a model in establishing a free, independent, democratic and constitutional "Republic of China" (Zou Rong in GEMING JUN--THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY).

"In 1911 the great revolutionary martyr Sun Zhongshan led the revolution in overthrowing the Qing dynasty and thus brought an end to over 2,000 years of feudal imperialistic rule. Nonetheless, there were no changes in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal nature of Chinese society." (Resolution Concerning Certain Historical Questions in the Party Since the Founding of the Nation) With the establishment of the Chinese Republic the people first thought that this would bring them freedom, equality, and compassion and reward them with milk and honey. After a time there was a republic in name only and the people still suffered under the two great mountains of oppression of feudalism and imperialism.

What was the way out? More than 70 years had gone by and the ideological weapons and political techniques of evolution, the innate rights of man and the bourgeois republic had all been brought in and tested,

but all failed and were unable to carry out their ideals. The history of the search for truth in previous western democratic revolutions was not one of success but rather one of failure. Yet, this failure bred success and doubt became the starting point of a new search. The process of the downfall of western bourgeois civilization in China was also the process whereby China discovered Marxism, chose Marxism and successfully applied it.

7

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century only a very small number of Chinese people had any knowledge of the name Marx or knew anything of his writings or the theory of socialism. Nonetheless, Marxism was accepted by progressive Chinese intellectuals. After the Russian October Revolution it pointed out the true path of the Chinese revolution. In May of 1919 Li Dazhao published his very important work WODE MAKESIZHUYIGUAN--MY VIEW OF MARXISM.

In February of 1899, the Shanghai Christian missionary newspaper WANGUO GONGBAO, issue #121, published an article by Timothy Li which said: "The leader of the the workers is an Englishman (actually German) named Marx." In April of the same year, issue #123 published an article titled "Datongxue" which said, "The German Marx is the author of 'On Capitalism'." As far as we now know, this is the first mention in any Chinese language publication of any reference to Marx or his famous work "On Capitalism."

Neither history nor mankind will ever forget the contribution of that great Chinese Communist pioneer Li Dazhao. It was Li Dazhao who first told the Chinese people of the great victory of the October socialist revolution and who said, "The world of the future will follow the red banner." It was Li Dazhao who first systematically introduced Marxism to the Chinese people, who pointed out that Marx's theory of socialism was a "scientific theory and system." He also said that Marx's historical materialism, economic theories and socialism were "three theories which are undivisible and which are joined together by the golden thread of the theory of class struggle." (LI DAZHAO XUANJI--SELECTED WORKS OF LI DAZHAO, pp 176-177)

"Sublime words brilliantly transmit the truth." As representatives of Chinese Communist intellectuals, Li Dazhao and Mao Zedong possessed the wisdom to select the scientific theory of socialism found in Marxism from the great variety of socialist theories. After gaining possession of Marxism the spirit of the Chinese people was no longer passive and took the initiative. In May of 1921 the great Chinese Communist Party was born and the face of the Chinese revolution took on a new appearance!

Practice is the only standard for judging truth. Comparison is the major technique for understanding things.

"Prior to the birth of the Chinese Communist Party, during the 80 years after the Opium War the people engaged in heroic struggles without cessation but suffered defeat after defeat, and many dedicated people bore an undying hatred because of this." (Hu Yaobang, "At the Meeting in Celebration of the 60th Anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party") During the protracted struggle to preserve the nation and during the revolutionary experiences in opposing imperialism and opposing feudalism the people underwent practice, understanding, more practice and more understanding, then engaged in struggle and suffered defeat, struggled more and suffered further defeat and took up the struggle anew until the goal of victory was attained. They paid a great price and undertook all sorts of comparisons before discovering Marxism and placed their faith in it. Marxism is the remaining essence of the historical process and is a social selection not influenced by individual will.

The ideology of the landlord revolutionary faction, the egalitarianism and religion of the peasant revolutionary faction, the "Chinese learning for spirit and western learning for function" of the westernization faction, the reformist ideology and constitutional monarchy of the bourgeois reformist faction, the Three People's Principles and democratic republic of the bourgeois revolutionary faction, the various forms of non-scientific socialism and bourgeois socialism were all unable to save China. The facts irrefutably point out that only Marxism was able to save China. This was the best possible choice during the past hundred-some years in China.

Lenin correctly said, "The reason why the revolutionary proletarian ideological system of Marxism was able to win worldwide historical significance was because it did not discard the most valuable accomplishments of the bourgeois period, but on the contrary absorbed and transformed a number of valuable accomplishments from 2,000 years of mankind's ideological and cultural development." (LIENING XUANJI--SELECTED WORKS OF LENIN, vol 4, p 362) Because of this, those truly democratic people in modern Chinese history finally had to follow Marxism or at the very least become friends of Marxism. And because of this, promising young people who wished to awaken China and pursue the road of intellectual truth made observations, comparisons, syntheses and analyses to measure success and failure, advantages and disadvantages and finally chose Marxism.

11582
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PARTY AND STATE

CRITICISM CAMPAIGN MOUNTED IN YONGKANG TO RECTIFY WORK STYLE

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 81 p 3

[Article: "Pick Up the Weapon of Criticism To Rectify the Style of the Work of the Party"]

[Text] In the course of conscientiously studying the "Resolution" adopted by the Sixth Plenum and Comrade Hu Yaobang's 1 July speech, the leading members on the party committee of Longshan District of Yongkang County have summed up experiences and lessons, and applied the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to do away with the dirty political practices and effectively to rectify the style and the work of the party.

The careful study of the "Resolution" and "speech" has led the party committee of Longshan District to believe deeply that it is important to be critical and self-critical within the ranks of the party. In this connection, Zhang Ruizhi [4545 3842 5347], secretary of the party committee of Longshan District, said: Early this year, in response to the urgent demands from the masses, Tangqi Commune located in a mountainous area proposed to put into effect the system of production responsibility for the fixing of dry field crop output quotas based on the individual households. When the commune party committee reported this to the district party committee, Zhang could not make any decision in a matter of minutes, this forced a "noncommittal" and evasive attitude on the matter and a "showdown" with the cadres and the masses.

Later, he personally visited this commune for an investigation. While there, he listened to opinions from the grassroots cadres and the masses, rectified his earlier understanding and voluntarily criticized himself in the presence of the cadres and in addition he helped them eliminate a variety of ideological obstacles and wholeheartedly assisted the masses in improving and perfecting the system of production responsibility. In coordination with the secretary of the commune party committee, he studied some new problems resulting from the enforcement of the system of production responsibility so that he could seek solutions for these problems. Thanks to the overall guidance provided by him, the commune has scored great success in production. In this connection, Zhang Ruizhi said emotionally: "We communists are committed to serve the people. We must dare to uphold the truth, and correct our mistakes. Only in this way can we win the trust of the people and remain invincible."

In the course of developing criticism and self-criticism, the party committee of Longshan District has urged the people to take an active part in the ideological struggle and to neither cover up contradictions nor distort facts. One day, a party member-cadre in this district leaked to the public the information on the reshuffle of the district party committee personnel under discussion, thus creating an adverse impact on society. After becoming aware of this problem, the leadership of the district party committee contacted this cadre several times, pointing out his mistakes. The party branch of the district government then called a meeting to criticize this comrade in a stern manner and in accordance with the principle of seeking truth from facts until he acknowledged his mistakes and criticized himself. To prevent a repeat of similar cases in the future, the district party committee has adopted a five-point conference room discipline designed to safeguard the secrets of the party. There are some individual party members and cadres who have been found guilty of failing to abide by principle when assigned to distribute material supplies and of disobeying orders for transfer from their party organizations, which have then held meetings to help these comrades correct their mistakes and rectify the style of the work of the party. The district party committee is composed of 10 members. Except for one who is now on sick leave, the rest of them have demonstrated the courage to bear the brunt of its workload thus introducing a new spirit into work. The district party committee has made further efforts to study and improve the system of developing criticism and self-criticism in a determined effort to do away with dirty political practices and to revitalize the organization of the party through the process of frequently and systematically developing criticism and self-criticism.

9574

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PARTY AND STATE

STRICT DISCIPLINE, LEFTIST IDEOLOGY DIFFERENCES DEFINED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 31 Aug 81 p 3

[Excerpts of article from 21 August ANHUI RIBAO: "'Strictness' and 'Left' Are Not the Same"]

[Text] In routine work and daily life, some comrades often make the term "strictness" sound indistinguishable from the term "left." For fear of being accused of being "leftists," some leading comrades have hesitated to place strict demands on their subordinates and cadres. Nor have they dared to take stern measures against the unhealthy practices or criticize those who should have been criticized. What does the "left" imply? The term "left" refers to the guiding ideology of a political party or a leading cadre which has no regard for the objective laws governing the development of things, which transcends the objective reality and the political consciousness of the masses, and which calls for subjective efforts to fulfill missions today that can never be fulfilled or can only be fulfilled step by step in the future. What does the term "strictness" imply? It refers to the serious attitude taken by the people and rigid requirements set by them for work, study and styles of work. For example, well-defined discipline, close-knit organization, solemn styles of work and rigid requirements are essential in this connection. Requirements must be set for any undertaking, work and study programs. To guarantee that these requirements can be met, we must formulate and adopt a variety of regulations for strict implementation. Otherwise, stability cannot be achieved, civilization cannot be built, and progress cannot be made by society and mankind. Can we mix this up with the "left"? Today as the Party Central Committee leads us to negotiate the Eighteen Bends and to scale the Peak of the Jade Emperor in the Mount Taishan, can we fulfill such missions without a close-knit organization, well-defined form of discipline, solemn styles of work, and rigid requirements?

The opponents of "strictness" have denounced it as something from the "left." In their minds, there often exist to a certain extent individualism, liberalism or anarchism. If we countenance, accommodate and acquiesce in the face of such elements and phenomena, we would do harm to our revolutionary cause and would be accused of showing no sense of responsibility to the people. If a leader adopts this approach, he would be guilty of a dereliction of duty. Of course, we will not allow anyone to promote the "leftist" trash under the pretext of being "strict."

PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE REVIEWS TAIPING LAND SYSTEM

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 31 Aug 81 p 5

[Article by Cui Zhiqing [1508 0037 3237]: "'The Celestial Dynasty's Land System': A Brief Introduction"]

[Text] In 1853, the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom established its Celestial Capital and soon thereafter promulgated "The Celestial Dynasty's Land System" (hereafter cited as "the System").

The basic spirit of "the System" was to destroy the feudal landlord's land ownership and redistribute the country's land on an equitable basis. "All land in the country must be cultivated in common by all people in the country." Land was classified into nine grades according to degrees of productivity and divided equally according to the population of farming households; "irrespective of difference in sex...each person is given half of a good grade and half of a lesser grade of land." On this basis, the System also prescribed the policy of equitable distribution and life-style of "a universal mode throughout the country." Apart from raising grains, each farming household must also plant mulberry trees and hemp and raise five chickens and two sows. In those days, at harvest time each year, 2 military officers would supervise the head of every 5 (multiples)-household unit to see that, except for retaining a sufficient amount of the harvested grains so that every person in the 25 constituent households would have enough food until the next harvest, all the rest was handed over to the state treasury. When a household was scheduled to have happy events like a wedding, the state treasury would dispense money and provisions according to established rules. The ultimate goal of "the System" was to establish an ideal state for the peasants in which "people cultivate their land together, share their good together, share their clothing together, use their money together, so that equality prevails everywhere and no one is deprived of his daily necessities."

Following the organic structure of the Taiping Army, "the System" also installed a rural officers system in which military undertakings and agriculture were combined. Such rural officers below the county level were divided into those of five (multiples)-household, two (military officers), company, regiment, division, and army units. One "army" unit had jurisdiction over 13,156 households; the lowest basic unit of production and distribution was a "two (military officers)," which had jurisdiction over 25 households, a state treasury, and a church. Each farming household was to designate an able-bodied male to serve as a soldier; he would in ordinary times engage himself in farming but in wartime he would join an expedition. In ordinary

times, these rural officers handled production, distribution, livelihood arrangements, litigations, and administrative affairs; in wartime, they became military officers to command the militia under their jurisdiction in combat.

The rural officers, according to regulations, were elected publicly by their local communities and then recommended by the next higher level officers and thus investigated and recommended from above, level after level, until they were all approved by the Celestial Emperor himself. When administrative officials at various levels were to be promoted or demoted, their situations were also examined level after level, and finally decided by the Celestial Emperor.

"The System" also had certain provisions in policies on women. Economically, land and a means of livelihood were distributed to men and women alike; politically, women officials were also appointed; religiously, they participated in activities of worship; and "no property is to be made a condition of marriage throughout the country."

Culture and education were combined with religion and propaganda; all subjects of the country were required to honor the God-worshiping sect, to gather in weekly worship service, to listen to sermons, to follow Taiping regulations, and to exert themselves in agricultural undertakings.

"The System" had some special provisions in respect to those who earned military merits and were given official ranks; "meritorious subjects are given Celestial provisions generation after generation," so that generation after generation they would enjoy privileges and abundant remunerations, whereas the vast ranks of the peasants would be saddled with the duties of "cultivating the land and providing for those above."

"The System," for the first time, used the strong desire of the peasants to deprive the landlords of their land and redistribute it into a concrete policy decision; this was the essence of "the System."

"The System" attempted to eliminate all private properties and thoroughly redistribute all wealth. "The System" thus proclaimed the public ownership of "ascribing everything to the Lord above," abolished commerce and independently managed handicrafts, organized all the country's population and kept them engaged in a single agricultural production with farming combined with weaving; this, in essence, was a type of retrogression. And it was not by the development of productive forces but by an economic policy of equal distribution of means of livelihood that it sought to assure the people's elementary well-being; this, too, was impractical and harmful. The requirement that all surplus products must be handed over by the peasants to the state treasury was good of course, for depriving the landlords and rich peasants of their feudal wealth but it affected the peasants' enthusiasm in production. This policy was carried out in the cities, but it was eventually discarded because it led to dissatisfaction on the part of the people.

"The System" was never carried out to the letter; the most important intent, that of expropriating the landlords' land and equally distributing it to the peasants, in particular, eventually became a mere provision on paper. In reality, what was practiced was letting the people "hand over grains and pay levies as usual," which

acknowledged the landlords' land ownership in the end. The fundamental reason why it could not be carried out was that, without thoroughly destroying the feudal system, it was impossible to solve the land problem which the peasants were so anxious to solve.

9255

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURAL

MISINTERPRETATION OF LITERARY WORKS BY CRITICS DENOUNCED

Shanghai SHEHUE KEXUE [JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES] in Chinese No 3, 81 p 112

[Article by Lin Fan [2651 1581]: "Imagination, Criticism and Social Effect"]

[Text] One day when I was pondering some problems, I suddenly recalled an interesting passage in an essay entitled "A Mixed Feeling" written by Lu Xun over 40 years ago which read: Upon seeing short sleeves, some people will immediately stretch their imagination from the white-skinned arms to a nude figure and then a bastard. This step-by-step leap in imagination from short sleeves to a bastard reflects a degree of sensitivity that will surprise everyone. Actually, this strange feeling is not strange at all. The reason is that with the power of imagination, we human beings are often emotionally excited and can easily trigger a train of thoughts. This stretch of imagination falls under the category of mental activities! Everything has its own specification in connection with the objective realities. In the traditional Chinese concept, there is something called relationship between an object and its appearance. This summarization is concise and good because it reflects an indivisible relationship between an object and its appearance and a natural link between these two matters. For example, the "snow" will remind us of its "white" appearance and "cold" weather; "blood" will remind us of "red" and "pain." Likewise, fallen leaves will remind us of the arrival of autumn and the appearance of swallows will remind us of the advent of the spring season. These phenomena which are often associated with the objective reality will take shape as a result of the observation of nature by people or a stretch of their imagination. This is why we often use "the term 'running deep' to describe the waters and passages in a hall, and the term 'width and breadth' to depict the size of cloth and land."

It appears that imagination is indispensable to every writer. The reason is that without imagination, life will become tasteless, and will go on without prose and poetry. But from the critics' point of view, those who love a stretch of imagination cannot enjoy popularity everywhere. A careless stretch of imagination may produce results contrary to what one wishes, and may turn out to be an arbitrary contention which can convince no one.

A literary work of lasting value can withstand the test of the most astute book reviewers. Why? It is probably due to the "flawless expressions of emotion from the bottom of hearts that appeal to reason." A literary work is usually designed to depict emotion or reason or both. This is why a writer must pay attention to the expressions of reasoning and emotion in his works. However, critical remarks have little in common with such literary style because criticism must be dispassionate.

Instead of using imagination and speculation, a critic must seek truth from facts and reason things out. Otherwise, he is apt to turn his argument into a far-fetched interpretation and to impose his own views on others. The ancients said: There will never be any explanatory notes in poems. This is true. A poet is gifted to express emotion that lies deep in his heart, is full of imagination, and capable of thinking of centuries-old events and observing the world with clairvoyant eyes. The more he thinks, the fuller his poetic expressions. A poet can produce a work as a result of a stretch of imagination, a work which can be deciphered only by the same stretch of imagination. This is why interpretations of poem vary from person to person. If this method is applied in literary reviews, contradictions certainly cannot be avoided. I can certainly bury my views in my heart, if those negative far-fetched interpretations are not associated with politics. But the problem is that some "interpreters" have made deliberate efforts to hook certain fellows to specific lines or programs in an attempt to create a situation in which they can wield the stick.

A short poem entitled "Self-Expression of Winter Wheat" came to my attention recently; it read: "The wild flowers of the chrysanthemum wilted, we are growing in strength; the earth is covered by snow, we are expecting a bumper crop." Now let us take a look at how our "critics" have deciphered this poem: They have viewed the wilted "wild flowers" as a smearing of the Communist Party and a call for its downfall; they have interpreted the phrase "we are growing in strength" as an indication that the diehard bourgeois elements are about to rise to power; they have regarded the phrase "the earth is covered by snow" as a reflection of popular discontent with the socialist system and vocal opposition to it. In their view, the last sentence is most vicious of all, which is tantamount to an open call for staging counterrevolutionary uprisings. This judgment resulted from imagination and speculation. This being the case, all poets will find no place to bury themselves! We must remember this lesson that as a result of the 10 years of turmoil, our literary and artistic garden of a hundred flowers has been ruined. I feel that literary and artistic critics must act as a medical doctor who has the responsibility to control disease and save the lives of patients. I can't believe that a doctor would use his imagination to diagnose his patients and would stretch his imagination so far as to link an acute diarrhea to gastric ulcer or cancer and finally, the need to fill out a death certificate for his patient. If this is not the case, why do some of our critics prefer the imaginative method to "admonish" and criticize literary and artistic works in an attempt to sentence some of their authors to death?

I entirely agree that writers and artists must take into account the effect their works may have on society. However, can all literary and artistic critics disregard the effect their criticism may have on society as well as their obligations to improve the level of literature? When a patient hates to take medicine, why can't we give him some sugar-coated pills to swallow; when a patient is afraid of surgery, why can't we give him an anesthetic to the satisfaction of both the patient and doctor? This simple treatment would not have been suggested here if I had not heard some comrades complain about criticism directed at them, a criticism which again leaves them with a lingering scary feeling. Perplexed by this situation, I have no alternative but to speak out briefly on this matter.

In conclusion, I fervently hope that critics will also find it necessary to emphasize the effect their criticism may have on society. I also sincerely hope that some comrades will no longer go about the task of criticism by using imagination and speculation.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

INTERVIEW ON QUESTIONS IN AWARDING ACADEMIC DEGREES

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 3 Aug 81 p 2

[Interview with a responsible comrade from the Office of Academic Degree Committee of the State Council by staff reporter; date and place not specified]

[Text] Recently we have received many letters from our readers, asking questions about the awarding of academic degrees. For this, our staff reporter paid a visit to a responsible comrade at the Office of Academic Degree Committee of the State Council and asked him to answer the following questions:

[Question] Why should all units in order to award academic degrees be scrutinized before approval?

[Answer] The reason that these units must be scrutinized for approval is to guarantee the quality of academic degrees awarded by them. According to the "Regulations for Academic Degrees of the People's Republic of China," the awarding units are responsible for the specific work of awarding academic degrees without further approval of departments at higher levels. For the supervision on the quality of academic degrees of all grades, the state relies mainly upon a strict scrutiny by the awarding units to give them the authority. At present, our country has more than 500 institutes of higher education for college undergraduates, of which more than 300 institutes have enrolled postgraduates for training. More than 300 scientific research organs have also taken in postgraduate students. The conditions of these institutes of higher learning and scientific research organs are not uniform, and also the quality of their work is very different. For this reason, it is necessary first to accomplish the work of scrutinizing the awarding units.

To accomplish this work, we must act according to the "Regulations for Academic Degrees of the People's Republic of China," the "Provisional Measures for the Implementation of the Regulations for Academic Degrees of the People's Republic of China" and the "Principles and Measures of the Academic Degree Committee of the State Council on the Examination and Approval of Academic Degree Awarding Units." In this work of scrutiny, we must act strictly and think of giving primary importance to quality. We must "uphold the standards, make strict demands, safeguard quality and be fair and reasonable." We must adhere to the principle "from the start rather to be on the strict side and place a little more stress on quality than on quantity" and "to set more stringent [rules] for a doctor's degree than for a master's degree." It is also necessary to take into account what is advantageous for the development of higher education, especially the steady and proportionate development of the work

concerning postgraduates. We must earnestly refrain from prematurely concentrating the force of professors and associate professors on the training of postgraduates to weaken the education of undergraduates and lower the standard. The scientific research institutes should also carefully refrain from the implementation of such conditions as giving courses prematurely to enroll too many postgraduates. It will be difficult for these institutes to guarantee the quality of their postgraduates, and it will even interfere with the fulfillment of their own tasks of scientific research. Therefore, in this very important link we should also proceed from reality, strictly scrutinize and approve all units to award academic degrees, and make the authorized area fairly limited, not too broad.

[Question] What units can apply for the authority of awarding the first batch of doctor's and master's degrees?

[Answer] The Academic Degree Committee of the State Council decided at its first meeting to adopt a policy of carrying out gradually the "Regulations for Academic Degrees." Those units which have applied for the authority of awarding academic degrees will be examined and approved by groups. Therefore, the first batch of units to award doctor's and master's degrees will be mainly limited to those branches of learning and specialties which have trained postgraduates before or after the "Great Cultural Revolution" and are now applying for the authority to award doctor's or master's degrees. For the time being, applications from those branches of learning and specialties which just began to enroll postgraduate students in 1981 will not be taken into consideration.

[Question] What are the qualifications of units to award doctor's degree?

[Answer] The units, branches of learning and specialties to award the doctor's degree will be mainly the key branches of learning in China's key institutes of higher learning and scientific research organs attached to concerned departments of the State Council, which have the following qualifications and truly can train postgraduates studying for the Doctor's degree. One or two key branches of learning of a few other units, which have the following qualifications, may also be included in the list.

(1) A qualified unit must have professors (researchers or personnel with like titles) working as guiding teachers, who have fairly high academic attainments, have achieved outstanding successes in education or research work, are at present engaged in scientific research work of fairly high standards and have gained certain results.

(2) A qualified unit must be able to provide the postgraduates studying for the doctor's degree with full facilities for study, and should guarantee them the completion of their study of the courses.

(3) With respect to concerned courses for the training of postgraduates, a qualified unit have a fairly high academic standard among similar courses in China, must have a fairly good foundation of scientific research, have undertaken key national projects of scientific research, key research projects of the ministries and commissions of the State Council and in various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, and other projects of great value and fairly high academic

standards, and must be able to provide the postgraduates with laboratory equipment and related books and material which they need for writing their doctorate papers.

[Question] What are the qualifications of units to award a master's degree?

[Answer] Any institute of higher education which enrolls postgraduates with the approval of the Ministry of Education, and any scientific research organ which enrolls postgraduates with the approval of concerned departments of the State Council, having courses and specialities of the following qualifications and being able to train postgraduates on a regular basis for the study of a master's degree, may be listed as units to award the master's degree.

(1) A qualified unit must have professors and associate professors (researchers and assistant researchers or personnel with like titles) working as guiding teachers, who have a fairly high academic standard, have achieved successes in education or research work, and are at present engaged in scientific research.

(2) The institutes of higher education should be able to provide postgraduates studying for the master's degree with required and elective courses of basic theories, speciality theories and experimental technology of fairly high standards. The scientific research organs should have graduate schools, or work in cooperation with the institutes of higher education, to give the foregoing courses to postgraduates studying for the master's degree, or should provide sufficient teaching personnel to give guidance to postgraduates studying for the master's degree in the foregoing courses.

(3) With respect to concerned courses for the training of postgraduates, a qualified unit must have determined its direction and projects of scientific research, and be able to provide the postgraduates with laboratory equipment and related books and material which they need for writing their research papers.

All units to award doctor's and master's degrees must have a sound system for supervising and administrating the research students.

[Question] Can the institutes of higher education and research organizations train research students jointly?

[Answer] We should advocate that the institutes of higher education and the research organs may cooperate and train postgraduates jointly. It is a good way for them to cultivate qualified personnel by giving play to their own respective superiority and making up each other's deficiencies. The two parties of this joint undertaking in training postgraduates working for the doctor's or master's degree must maintain a fairly stable relationship of cooperation. When they apply for the authority to award doctor's and master's degrees, one of the two parties should be taken as the principal unit. At the same time, all professors, researchers, associate professors, assistant researchers and personnel with like titles can work at only one unit (either an institute of higher education or a research organization) as guiding teachers of the units which apply for the authority to award doctor's and master's degrees. However, if the joint training of two units shows no practical results, or if one of the two units which apply for the authority to award degrees simply uses the names of the other unit's specialists as a means of applying for the authority, then the approval of these applications should be deferred.

[Question] What is the procedure for the in-service personnel and those of the same educational level to apply for the doctor's or master's degree?

[Answer] According to the academic degree system of our country, a postgraduate may apply for master's degree at the first stage of his graduation, and he may apply for doctor's degree at the second stage of his graduation. At present, only a limited number of postgraduates have been enrolled in our country. To encourage self-study for advancement in learning, our "Regulations for Academic Degrees" stipulates that all in-service personnel and persons of the same educational level, who have attained from self-study the academic level of postgraduates on graduation, are permitted to apply for a doctor's or master's degree.

Our "Provisional Measures for the Implementation of the Regulations for Academic Degrees" stipulates that when personnel of the same educational level apply for a doctor's degree, they should submit a letter of recommendation signed by two professors or specialists of like titles. If an applicant has not obtained his master's degree, the unit to award the academic degree may take proper measures before accepting his application to check his qualification for certain subjects of the master's degree in basic theories and in his speciality. When the unit agrees to accept his application, it should also hold an examination of the courses for the doctor's degree. After the applicant has passed the examination, then he will be permitted to take the oral test for the doctor's degree.

When personnel of equal educational level apply for a master's degree, they should submit a letter of recommendation signed by two associate professors, professors or specialists with like titles. If the applicant has no educational record as a college graduate, the unit to award the academic degree may take proper measures before accepting his application to check his qualifications for certain college courses. When the unit agrees to accept his application, it should further hold an examination of the courses for the master's degree. After the applicant has passed the examination, then he will be permitted to take the oral test.

We have just begun to implement the "Regulations for Academic Degrees" and still have no experience. Therefore, it was decided at the first (enlarged) meeting of the Academic Degree Committee of the State Council to postpone the application of the in-service personnel and those of the same educational level for doctor's and master's degrees till 1982 when the work of awarding academic degrees will be carried out gradually.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

TAIWAN WRITER DISCUSSES ISSUE OF REUNIFICATION

Hong Kong ZHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 47, 1 Sep 81 pp 69-70

[Article: "Exploration of the Reunification Issue in a Taiwan Publication"]

[Text] Editor: The text reprinted below consists of two sections of the article entitled "the Road of Modernization of the Two Coasts of the Taiwan Strait." Appearing in the inaugural issue of LIANHE YUEKAN, a Taiwan publication, in July, it was written by Gao Yingmao [7559 5391 5399].

In the sections under the subtitles "Exploration of the Reunification Issue" and "Conclusion," the author made a brief and concise analysis of the reunification issue of the two coasts of the strait and suggested limited contact, "indirect trade," "peaceful competition," and mutually "learning each other's good points and reform the defects" under the principle of giving consideration to humanitarianism, mutual benefit and security. We feel that such analysis and suggestions in Taiwan's media are relatively sober and rational. Today, concerned over the issue of reunification, Chinese at home and abroad have made many different suggestions. The article reprinted here will serve as a reference. It is slightly abridged.

Exploration of the Reunification Issue

To put it succinctly, there are only two basic means to reunify the two coasts of Taiwan Strait: (1) Reunification by force: Send troops across the strait and, by the law of the jungle, reunify by defeating the other side. (2) Peaceful reunification: Under the principle of voluntary participation and mutual benefit, complete the reunification by peaceful means by both sides.

At present, Communist China possesses an army of over 4 million, large numbers of fighter planes and naval vessels, and strategic atomic weapons. On the surface, it should be easy for it to attack Taiwan by force, but actually, it must give careful consideration to several major problems which are difficult to surmount: (1) Though the number of the "Liberation Army" is several times greater than Taiwan's 500,000 troops, but in quality, Taiwan's airforce and

navy are better equipped and better trained. According to the estimates of military experts in general, if Communist China stubbornly wants to cross the strait and attack Taiwan, it must be prepared to sacrifice one-third or more of its air and naval strengths. Under the grave threat of Soviet forces, whether it can pay such a high price for Taiwan is naturally a difficult strategic dilemma. (2) Whether Communist China will resort to atomic weapons to give Taiwan a blood bath in order to compensate for its military deficiencies in other aspects is also a dilemma. How will it justify itself in morality and justice if it slaughters tens of millions of its compatriots? After occupying Taiwan, what will be the benefit if the economy and industry of the island are completely destroyed? (3) If Communist China attacks Taiwan by force, the economy of the mainland will inevitably suffer severe destructions. Meanwhile, the scientific, technological and economic relations built by Communist China with the West in recent years will also run into serious difficulties. Finally, does Communist China have the capacity to fight simultaneously in the north and the south, facing the Soviet Union in the north and Taiwan and Vietnam in the south? All these are dilemmas which Communist China is unable to give a definite answer.

If the potential of reunification by force is not great, what is the potential of "peaceful reunification?" In recent years, Beijing has been reinforcing its "peace offensive" toward Taiwan, and the slogan "liberate Taiwan" has changed to "return to the motherland." Besides appealing to Taiwan to launch the "three-open" (opening trade, postal communication, and visiting), last year it proposed the "five-guarantee." Beijing guarantees that (1) Taiwan may keep its social system; (2) its living standard will not be lowered; (3) it may maintain its people-to-people relations with foreign countries; (4) it may enjoy self-governing rights; (5) it may even keep its troops.

These proposals do not have a strong appeal to Taiwan. There are the following reasons worthy of attention: (1) In the past 60 plus years, Guomindang and the Chinese Communist Party held peace negotiations and cooperations three times, and every time the Guomindang got the worst of it, ending in defeat and withdrawal from the mainland the last time. The Guomindang will not forget such historical experiences. (2) The "peaceful liberation" of Xizang also taught the Taiwan people a frightening lesson. The Xizang authorities signed the "Agreement of Peaceful Liberation" of 17 articles with Beijing on 23 May 1951, but in the spring of 1959, Beijing sent troops to occupy Xizang and suppress the "rebellion." In fact, the "lenient" conditions proposed by Beijing to Taiwan at present are almost identical to those proposed to Xizang in 1951. The Taiwan people seem to be highly aware of the possibility of a repetition of history. (3) As analyzed above, great gaps and discrepancies have occurred in the living standards and living patterns of Taiwan and the mainland in the past 30 years. To protect its prosperous living conditions and free living pattern, Taiwan most likely will reinforce its resistance of the mainland's appeal for a united front, rather than voluntarily supporting it. Concrete economic interests will strengthen the anti-communist ideology of the Taiwan people. Possibly deeply aware of this problem, Deng Xiaoping, in his speech on New Year's Day of 1980, stated emphatically that the peaceful

reunification of Taiwan awaits the improvement of mainland China's political and economic systems until they excel those of Taiwan. However, he hoped that, by the year 2000, the average per capita income on the mainland will reach \$1,000, but what requires attention is that the average income per capita in Taiwan, by that time, will exceed \$7,000. The most important key to the reunification of the two coasts of the Taiwan Strait actually may not be the difference in the living standards, but the difference in the basic systems and living patterns.

Conclusion

In view of the foregoing analysis, we may conclude that, in the near future, the reunification of the two coasts of Taiwan Strait will absolutely not be a simple issue. Today, while it is impossible for either side to use the means of force to attain reunification, nor is it possible to attain the goal by means of peace. Under this stalemate of "neither war nor peace," peaceful competition under the status quo becomes the most feasible and also the most constructive direction of development. For the survival of their own systems and for increasing the appeal to the people of the other side, the regimes on both coasts must produce the best patterns and systems for the welfare of the Chinese people. Meanwhile, peaceful competition will create a strong mutually stimulating effect, learning the good points of the other side and reforming one's own defects.

Today, the "three-open" proposed by Communist China is rather premature. Obviously, the time is not ripe, and there is no trust and confidence between the two sides. Such peace offensive has become a tool of threat and inducement for the united front. However, under the principle of giving consideration to humanitarianism, mutual benefit and security, limited contact and "indirect trade," getting along peacefully, seem to be worthy of a try; it will contribute considerably to the peace and prosperity of both coasts. In terms of the effort for modernization, many obvious experiences and patterns fully proved to be effective and successful in Taiwan should serve as valuable references to the mainland in its economic development. Taiwan's large scientific and technical manpower should be of considerable help to the modernization of the mainland. This is not only a feasible, but also correct, path for mainland China to follow. The Chinese people on both sides of Taiwan Strait and the millions of overseas Chinese will approve and support it. Under the major premise of seeking happiness for all the Chinese people, this is the most important task at the present time. As for the issue of final reunification, it is best to ask history for help for its gradual solution.

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